HUMAN EVENTS

Vol. XIII, No. 37 Saturday, September 15, 1956 Washington, D. C.

News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

Mission to Gettysburg: Within twenty-four hours of the publication of the dismal Maine election outcome, a group of GOP congressional leaders met behind closed doors in the nation's capital to frame a message to President Eisenhower, to send to him in his retreat at Gettysburg. The purpose of the meeting and the message was to warn the President that the Maine results pointed to great latent Democratic strength in the country and to urge him to drop the "high level" format of campaign strategy, in short to "take the wraps off himself and Nixon," and have a real fighting campaign. Otherwise . . .

Some of those in the meeting talked of the Gallup poll results unveiled early this week. Gallup has never been accused of prejudice against Ike, yet his poll of September 9 shows the Ike ticket leading the Adlai ticket by 52 per cent to 41 per cent, compared with the high point for Ike on June 27 of 62 per cent to 35 per cent for Adlai. This represents a drop from a 27 point difference to an 11 point difference today. It recalls that the Gallup poll in that year of upsets — 1948 — showed a 7 point difference in favor of Dewey over Truman in early September of that year.

The inspiration for the message to the President (who left on September 12 for the Gettysburg farm) sprang from a crucial step in the 1952 campaign, which took place almost four years ago this week — a step which many think ensured victory that year. Late in August 1952, one of Ike's strong pre-convention supporters, Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard chain, published in his papers an editorial bewailing the fact that "Ike is running like a dry creek." Then two prominent members of Congress, GOP House Leader Joe Martin and Senate GOP wheel horse Senator Styles Bridges went to see nominee Eisenhower in New York. These two rather undramatic looking gentlemen waxed very dramatic in their interview with Ike, at one time Bridges pointing a finger at the General and saying, "It's up to you to win the campaign." The twain urged him to drop the "soft and dignified" approach and to wage a hard-hitting campaign; and to that end also urged Ike to meet with Taft and enlist his aid in the fight — which was done. Thus was history made in '52.

But those on the inside who have heard about the "mission to Gettysburg" report that some of the GOP leaders hedge their bets on whether the President will yield to the entreaty for "brass knuckles" political warfare. They point out that four years ago Bridges and Martin found a humble, receptive candidate in Eisenhower. Today, the President is a somewhat different person, with firmly held ideas on political strategy himself, and a surrounding Palace Guard that insulates him from the sort of advice offered him four years ago.

What Happened in Maine: The re-election of Maine's Democratic Governor Edmund S. Muskie last Monday, as Democrats also captured one and possibly two of the three Maine seats in the House of Representatives, marks the end of a long, low slide for Maine Republicans. Traditionally a solid Republican state (one of the two that Alf Landon carried in 1936), Maine has been drifting towards the Democrats since 1952, when the Republican party went "liberal" in the hope of snaring the "independent liberal" voter. In that year, Governor Frederick G. Payne defeated conservative incumbent Owen Brewster in the Senatorial primary by 3000 votes out of a total of 130,000.

Margaret Chase Smith had won the 1948 Senate contest with 71.4 per cent of the total vote. After Brewster, a Taft Republican, was dumped, Payne's winning 1952 percentage was only 59 per cent of the vote. Burton M. Cross took over Payne's gubernatorial post. Maine's "New Republicans" proceeded to show that wooing "liberal independents" is a sure way to lose — espe-

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cially in Maine, where registered Republicans (262,367) outnumber Democrats (97,238) and "independents" (118,905) added together. Peeved at Brewster's defeat, large numbers of conservative Republicans began to stay home on election day, or else cast protest votes for the Democrats.

In 1954, when Senator Smith was up for re-election to the Senate, her winning margin plunged 13 percentage points, to 58.4 — even lower than Payne's '52 percentage. The revolt against the "New Republicanism" by this time began to make itself felt in the congressional elections. Representative Robert Hale retained his House seat with 52 per cent of the vote — his lowest margin in 14 years. Representative Charles Nelson, seeking his fourth term, won with 54 per cent. In 1952, he had carried 66.8 per cent of the total ballots cast. Representative Clifford G. McIntire, seeking a second term, won 60 per cent of the vote — 16.2 percentage points lower than his 1952 total. And Burton M. Cross, Payne's successor, was repudiated by his own party as Muskie swept into the governorship. Fifty-four and one half per cent of the voters gave the Democratic candidate their support.

In last Monday's election, Muskie increased his winning margin to 60 per cent, while Republicans in the House saw their share of the vote ebb, for the first time, below the 50 per cent level. McIntire, most popular of the GOP Congressmen, held his seat. Hale, who had served seven terms, may have lost to Democrat James C. Oliver — although this contest is subject to a recount. And Democratic State Chairman Frank M. Coffin assumed Nelson's seat, defeating GOP State Senator James L. Reid.

What Happened in Wisconsin: The bare statistics of the contest for the GOP Senatorial nomination in Wisconsin tell much of the real story; despite false propaganda that Wiley won because of a Wisconsin shift to an internationalist position. From almost complete returns (as we go to press), Wiley received 217,000 votes; representative Davis 207,000; and Howard Boyle 20,000. Thus Wiley is not a majority but a plurality winner. Who is Howard Boyle? Republican circles in Wisconsin describe him as a strongly outspoken supporter of Senator McCarthy; and say that Boyle and those who voted for him resented candidate Davis' effort to shy away from outright support of McCarthy. Thus, the Boyle vote — it is believed — deducted from and would normally be cast for a right-wing Republican candidate (such as Davis). In short, those who watch Wisconsin politics say that Wiley was renominated in large part because of injection of the McCarthy issue.

There were, of course, other factors: Davis was largely unknown outside of his own district; the late convention gave this young Representative little time to build up support; the AFL-CIO worked strongly for Wiley; and finally, in the peculiar Wisconsin open primary system, it is estimated many Democrats crossed the line to vote in the GOP primary for Wiley.

The Boyle vote — observers comment — carries a portent for November. His 20,000 vote is about 5 per cent of the total vote cast in this Senatorial primary. That percentage, on that issue alone, projected on the national scene, could come close to deciding the outcome.

Javits vs. Wagner: Mayor Wagner, Democratic nominee for the Senate from New York (for Senator Lehman's seat), is an odds-on favorite to beat the Republican nominee, Attorney General Jacob K. Javits. Dewey, the Republican with the best chance to win, refused to allow his name to be considered.

The New York State GOP convention decided they had no choice but to name Javits — the only Republican to win a state office in 1954.

But the party has little hope of electing its nominee, who voted 70 per cent with the Democrats on controversial issues while he was in the House of Representatives (1947-1955). GOP leaders believe that because of his leftist inclinations, Javits will lose several hundred thousand normally Republican votes of persons of conservative inclinations, without attracting any offsetting number of Jewish voters — who will go at least 80 per cent for the popular and liberal Wagner.

"Liberal Democrats can still swamp liberal Republicans in Jewish districts even when one of the Republicans is a Jew," writes Professor Lawrence H. Fuchs of Brandeis University in his authoritative volume *The Political Behavior of American Jews* (Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, $4).

Professor Fuchs devotes much study to the Javits-Roosevelt contest for Attorney General in

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1954. He shows that Javits, although a Jew, "did not run as expected in Jewish districts."

Javits, according to Fuchs, had every advantage — except the fact that he was running on the Republican ticket — in seeking the Jewish vote. Javits, says Fuchs, "was known in Congress as a New Deal Republican. . . . He spoke out for . . . increased aid to Israel, support for the UN, and even advocated changing the UN into a world federal government." Fuchs lists three Jewish assembly districts in Brooklyn, the 2nd, 15th and 16th AD's, in which Javits received only 19.8, 10.2 and 21.7 per cent of the total vote for Attorney General. In one heavily Jewish Bronx district, Fuchs says, "he won only 17.5 per cent, actually running behind the Eisenhower percentage vote for 1952."

Javits beat Roosevelt, according to other reports, for two reasons: first, because (as between the two) Republicans regarded Javits as the lesser of two evils — especially since in the Attorney General's post, ideological considerations are of secondary importance; second, because, while losing the Jewish vote, Javits got the normally Democratic Italian vote. Carmine DeSapio, Tammany boss, "cut" Junior Roosevelt's vote down to absolute zero in some Italian neighborhoods, avenging Roosevelt's previous race against Harriman for the governorship. (Junior first sought Tammany support, failed to get it, and then ran on an anti-Tammany platform.)

Knowing that Javits' extreme liberalism and internationalism will alienate conservatives, the state's GOP leaders realize he has virtually no chance to win, but — to quote one of them — they nominated him "to get him once and for all out of our hair."

Verdict on Two Parties: Columnist Dorothy Thompson delivered a verdict on the two parties (Washington *Star*, September 5) which has stirred private discussion among political observers here who are impressed with her analysis and wonder what effect the situation she describes will have on the election. "Judging from the platforms," writes Miss Thompson, "there are no issues of any substance between the parties. The Democrats are a shade to the left of the Republicans except in certain regions where they are a shade to the right. Both parties are for moving toward socialism — with moderation. Of course, they don't say that; maybe they don't even mean that, but the concrete things they are for do mean it."

The columnist touches on economic policy — "the inflationary price rise will continue, but '*under control.*' *This means, of course, that everybody* whose savings are invested in anything promising a fixed return will see them diminish toward the vanishing point — but gradually." Foreign affairs under either party? "The American taxpayer will continue to have his taxes socialized for foreign progress on the assumption that we can buy friends and keep them bought." And both parties rely on collective security and the formula that "a threat to one is a threat to all, thus involving America in every crisis everywhere."

Miss Thompson sums up. "Although everybody with any historical knowledge or common sense knows that the state has always been the enemy of society and of individual and social liberty, they will be persuaded that 'new America' will be different. We shall increasingly have 'human welfare' dispensed by the state, redistributing the peoples' earnings here and abroad by way of taxes, but we shall not (say the parties) have the 'welfare state.'

"This trend may be all very well. But it is at least debatable. There must be some hundreds of thousands of Americans who still think self-reliance, personal independence, a state of strictly limited powers, and national freedom of action in foreign affairs are of proven merit. But there is no party left to represent them.

"And if a great many people don't vote in the coming election it will not be surprising."

The Gallup poll in its September 9 analysis of presidential strength reported: "By their own testimony, there is a larger proportion of voters in the Republican party than in the Democratic party who today say they do not expect to vote in November."

East and West of Suez: A new note of alarm is sounded along diplomatic row in Washington about the Suez situation that modifies hopes that the new proposed "committee of canal users" will lead to peace. For several weeks, it was believed that the U.S. had a promise from Britain that the

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latter would not resort to military measures against Egypt until after the U.S. election. Now, reports keep coming in that cast doubt on this belief — which say rather positively that Britain and France may move into Suez territory without officially informing Washington in advance of the action.

Several reasons are offered for this change in plans: (1) The Anglo-French military build-up has gone faster than originally expected; and (2) some new evidence has appeared that the other Arab states may be closing ranks behind Egypt in the developing crisis.

Additionally, there is much speculation in diplomatic circles here about how far British counter-intelligence has gone with what is believed to be the secret British objective — the search for "another Colonel" in Egypt. By that is meant a rival military figure who nurses the ambition to oust Colonel Nasser and hold power himself. To obtain an arrangement with such a man is in the classic British tradition. The "spy scare" in Cairo of a few weeks ago was — it is remarked — not about "espionage" at all, but about "fifth columnists," whom Nasser presumably fears. Such "another Colonel" would not try to overthrow Nasser until British and French forces landed on Egyptian soil. Then — watch out.

Education Front: A new development in the battle over education has just occurred with the establishment, in Washington, of a new organization — the Council for Basic Education (address: Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.). In recent years, Mortimer Smith's *The Diminished Mind*, Arthur Bestor's *Educational Wastelands* and other similar books have reflected growing concern over the state of American education. Now Messrs. Smith and Bestor *et al* have organized themselves to see what they can accomplish. Dr. Harold Clapp of Grinnell is Executive Secretary of the Council and also in the group are Dr. Howard Meyerhoff, Maynard M. Boring, Harry J. Fuller and others.

"The position of the Council," an introductory pamphlet says, "is that American students of high ability are entitled to educational opportunity equal to that offered the ablest in other lands. Any leveling down of the education of the able student is both a denial to him of equal democratic opportunity and a threat to the security of the nation."

It will be recalled that the White House Conference on Education either forgot about or studiously avoided the question of curriculum. But curriculum is just exactly what this new Council for Basic Education is interested in. For, it would appear that the critical state of education has finally begun to affect Congress, which is acutely worried about why "Johnny Can't Read."

Here, for instance, are a few sentences from a July 13, 1956 *Report on Aircraft Production Costs and Profits* issued by the House Committee on Armed Services: "While not stressed in our printed hearings, excepting as an item of expense in recruitment, the matter of scientific and engineering personnel required in this industry assumed alarming proportions as the subcommittee visited plants and talked with the personnel concerned with this subject. . . . The high school problem was the matter which stunned the subcommittee. In examining the data which the subcommittee has assembled, in addition to its printed hearings, from the Department of Commerce, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of Defense, and most educational bodies, we are appalled at the scope of the problem of basic education for scientists and engineers. The fault is not wholly lack of money for our school systems. We could well summarize by asking this question: 'What happened to reading, writing and arithmetic?' "

Letter from IGOR I. SIKORSKY, Noted Aeronautical Engineer: "You and your associates can certainly be congratulated upon the very important work which you are performing."

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HUMAN EVENTS, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is a weekly newsletter reporting from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. Published usually in two sections: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article section. Entered as second class matter at Washington, D. C. Copyright 1956.

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The Declaration of Independence opens: "When in the course of HUMAN EVENTS . . ."

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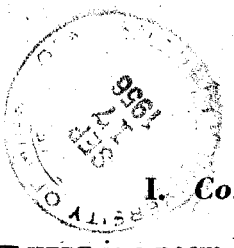
Vol. XIII, No. 37 HUMAN EVENTS September 15, 1956

Article Section



THE TWO FACES* OF ADLAI STEVENSON

By MEDFORD EVANS

I. *Comic: Egghead*

THERE is a poem by T. S. (*The Cocktail Party*) Eliot called *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* — an egghead poem, certainly familiar in Stevenson circles. It describes one of Adlai's faces to a T.

"And indeed there will be time," says Prufrock,

". . . time yet for a hundred indecisions,
And for a hundred visions and revisions,
Before the taking of a toast and tea.
* * *
Time to turn back and descend the stair,
With a bald spot in the middle of my hair —
* * *
Do I dare
Disturb the universe?
In a minute there is time
For decisions and revisions which a minute will reverse.
* * *
I have measured out my life with coffee spoons.
* * *
So how should I presume?"

While we are not told the size of Prufrock's nose, we can almost set this beside a portrait of the good Adlai and ask, Which twin is more tony? The same vacillation, the same balding dome. The nervous indecision of poise with a dash of funk. Is that call to greatness, or from little Sir Echo? How should one presume?

"There were at least three reasons why I presumed," says Stevenson, explaining how he happened to lecture at Harvard in 1954 on foreign affairs. Fearful, however, that none of the three is adequate, he continues, "I was not content with the result at the time, and I am less so now. . . . My excuse is the pressure of competing work, including a book about my travels last year which was finished this spring and promptly abandoned. It was a hard decision." These are, for a fact, the times that try men's souls.

"I fear," Stevenson told his Harvard audience, "that I have spent more time wondering nervously why I undertook to do these lectures than in doing them . . . after the election of 1952 . . . my lecturing at Harvard did not seem as absurd to me as it does now, and as it shortly will to you, I fear."

Prufrock: "I have seen the moment of my greatness flicker,
And I have seen the eternal Footman hold my coat, and snicker,
And in short, I was afraid."

The melancholy prospect of Stevenson as actually President is unfortunately less improbable than it is preposterous. If he gets the electoral votes he will go in. If he carries the East he will probably get the electoral votes. The East imagines itself to be pretty smart, and with equal rashness has cast Adlai as an intellectual. A lot of people who have heard that Stevenson talks over people's heads will vote for him to prove that he is not talking over *their* heads. Thus a bunch of phonies could, for a phony reason, elect a phony to the highest office in the land.

Even if he were not a phony he ought not to be elected. No intellectual (as the term has come to be used) ought to be President. An intellectual is a kind of monster who has gone beyond Emerson's definition of a scholar as "man thinking." (Obviously a President ought to be a scholar.)

But Adlai is not an intellectual. In part he is not up to it, in part he is above it, in large measure he is just outside it. "He doesn't read much," says a biographer. Well, that's it. Intellectuals read. It is one of their weaknesses. If Adlai had been more of a reader, he might have made better than average grades at Princeton. He might even have finished law school at Harvard. It is said that he flunked at Harvard because of lost time resulting from family law suits over the income-producing

* As a leading actor of the 1956 season, Adlai Stevenson assumes the symbolic masks of the stage. In his comic guise, he plays the "intellectual" quipster; in his tragic role, the ruthless politician.

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daily newspaper, the Bloomington, Illinois, *Pantagraph*.* Intellectuals don't as a rule have that much common sense. They lose the money and make A's. (It is an unusual person, such as the late Robert A. Taft, who can keep momentous family affairs in perspective and still graduate at the top of the class.)

Another thing about intellectuals — they often *are* ghost writers, they seldom *have* ghost writers. That goes with being talented but impractical. In Stevenson's files, says biographer Martin, "is a copy of his statement on Roosevelt's death, and on it he has noted in longhand that it was written mainly by Archibald MacLeish, the poet." That Stevenson the Presidential candidate of 1952 should have had speeches written for him by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., as we understand he did, is not very surprising, nor even reason in itself to deprive him of status as an intellectual. But in 1945, at the time of Roosevelt's death, Adlai Stevenson was a great deal more obscure than was Archibald MacLeish. That MacLeish should ghost-write for Stevenson in 1945 suggests that Stevenson, no intellectual himself, has long been skillful in the exploitation of intellectuals.

Perhaps the quintessence of intellectualism is detachment. "Odd," muses the professor when his wife elopes with a trumpet-player. When such detachment is not in the form of absent-mindedness it may take the form of humor, and herein is the primary source of Stevenson's reputation as an intellectual. But it is apparently only in the most superficial way that Stevenson can make fun of himself. "Humor is deeply ingrained in him," writes his biographer. "But there is no humor when Stevenson is discussing matters he considers of transcendent importance, such as foreign policy or race relations. *Nor is there any humor when Stevenson has been beaten.* In defeat, he is likely to be grim. He likes to win. A friend of his has remarked, 'I don't know of anyone who'd rather win at tennis.' Nor anyone who'd rather win a fight with the Legislature." (Italics added.)

This is to his credit. Intellectuals are often chicken. Hobbes ran away and Milton called on "Captain, or colonel, or knight-at-arms," to protect him. Adlai, in spite of his veneer, is probably more at home in than with Cicero. "People from the East," observes biographer Martin, "sometimes ask Chicagoans if the Syndicate is anything more than 'newspaper talk.' It should be clear that it most certainly is. Every scandal that has afflicted the Stevenson administration [of Illinois] has involved the Syndicate. The Syndicate is everywhere. And so are its political friends. Stevenson has not been able to keep free of them." (Remember, this Martin is a Stevenson man.) Elsewhere, of Adlai's affiliation with the Cook County political organization he says, "It does not mean the machine runs him. In matters that affect him he runs the machine." A tough guy.

It is hard to tell whether Stevenson is more radically disqualified for the Presidency of the United States as the egghead he pretends to be, or as the hard-boiled egg which he evidently is.

T. S. Eliot did not, of course, give us a portrait of Adlai; he gave Adlai a part to play. Prufrock is not Stevenson, though the harlequinade since 1952 makes us think of Adlai when Prufrock says:

> "No! I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be;
> Am an attendant lord, one that will do
> To swell a progress, start a scene or two,
> Advise the prince; no doubt, an easy tool,
> Deferential, glad to be of use,
> Politic, cautious, and meticulous;
> Full of high sentence, but a bit obtuse;
> At times, indeed, almost ridiculous —
> Almost, at times, the Fool."

II. *Tragic: Scarface*

ADLAI is no fool. And of course he is not Prince Hamlet. Yet, for three reasons, he is a kind of prince: (1) He is an heir of a leading family — not so rich and famous as the Fields or Lamonts, but rich and famous. (2) He uses the method of Machiavelli, which was formulated for a prince. "Machiavelli's method," says James Burham, who graduated at the top of *his* Princeton class, "is the method of science applied to politics." (3) Adlai commands a disciplined retinue as imperiously as did ever King Lear or Al Capone.

Let's run through that again, in reverse and slow.

Adlai is the boss. Prof. Walter Johnson's book, *How We Drafted Adlai Stevenson*, pretends that a nation which in January 1952 had never heard of

* Adlai and his sister, each inheriting 24½ per cent of the Bloomington, Illinois *Pantagraph*, sought, unsuccessfully, to take control away from their cousins, the Merwins. Asked recently whether the *Pantagraph* was worth $4,000,000 — making Adlai's inheritance worth $1,000,000 — a *Pantagraph* executive said: "That would be a very conservative figure." *Pantagraph* stock is only a part of Adlai's present wealth, little of it earned by himself. *Editor.*

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